MOKO

No 1

A SERIOUS REVIEW PRICE 10 cts up

RODNEY: THE OTHER SIDE

THE EXPULSION, from Jamaica 11 days ago, of Dr. Walter Rodney, a young U.W.I. lecturer stationed at Mona, by an edict of the Jamaican government, has raised a number of issues of central importance to the present and future of West Indian politics.

The more sensational facts of the case are well known - - have in fact achieved a notoriety that to some extent threatens to obscure the more fundamental issues that they raise. Dr. Rodney, having left Jamaica to attend a conference of black writers in Montreal, returned to Jamaica on Tuesday October 15 to be confronted with an order refusing him permission to return to Jamaica, He was confined to his plane and forcibly returned to Montreal, leaving his pregnant wife and young child in Jamaica.

DEMONSTRATIONS

The expulsion of Dr. Rodney was followed by demonstrations staged by students and staff at all three campuses of the Univeristy, those in Barbados and Trinidad being peaceful and free of major incidents, that in Jamaica terminating in rioting by non-university demonstrators, in the destruction of about $5 million worth of property and in the shooting, by police, of three men.

These constitute the more sensational elements of the story, and it is these elements which have received the greatest attention from the press both in Jamaica and in Trinidad. As far as this goes there are two elements of this newspaper coverage that are very disturbing - -

1. That the reports of the incident appearing both here and in Jamaica have consistently sacrificed the presentation of the deeper issues of the incident to the more sensational aspects, and
2. That they have been decidely one-sided, ignoring or suppressing information and arguments put forward by the Mona demonstrators while giving great prominence to the statements and pronouncements of the Jamaican Prime Minister, Mr. Shearer, and his colleagues.

SENSATIONALISM

The first point is a matter that properly requires discussion of some length. The tendency to sacrifice significance to sensationalism is to a considerable extent endemic to all commercial journalism, and this tendency is aggravated in small "modernizing" nations through the operation of external pressures which place a premium on the maintenance of "stability" as a condition of receiving foreign assistance.

The effect of this concern for newspapers which have a primarily commercial orientation is a tendency to avoid real discussion of difficult issues, to remain as far as possible superficial and trivial, to avoid giving offence to established authority where this might be commercially damaging.

These tendencies in our news media help to account for both the sensationalism and the bias of the coverage that the Rodney Affair has received, particularly in Trinidad The sensationalism has emerged, for instance, in the reportage of a meeting called at the U.W.I. Guild Hall last Friday to protest the ban on Dr. Rodney, and the newspaper treatment of this meeting merits at least a cursory analysis.

In addition to an over-capacity crowd of university students, staff, and members of the public, the meeting was attended by a full contingent of newspaper representatives. Addresses were delivered by four members of the university staff, and of these, three at least had claims to special and individual significance Dr. David Nicholls, a lecturer in political theory, examined the moral implications of the expulsion of Dr. Rodney from Jamaica.

IMBALANCE

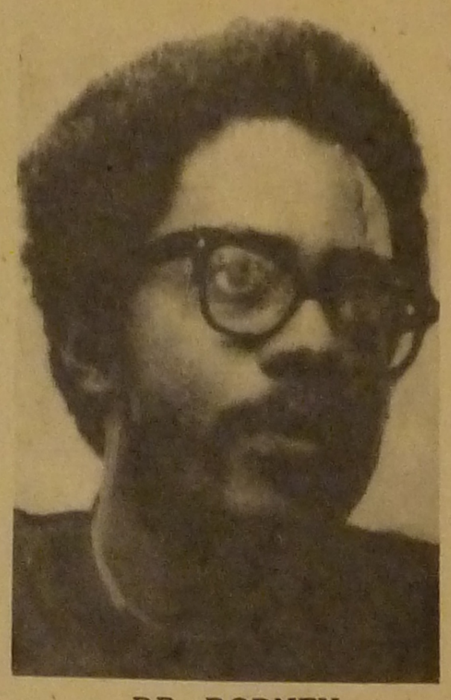
Mr. Lloyd Best, a lecturer in Economics, took what might roughly be called a sociological approach to the incident and attempted to analyze the impersonal forces operating to produce it. The burden of his address was an insistence on the need to analyze and understand these forces without indulging in moral condemnations of West Indian regimes - - indeed a fundamental concern of his argument was to correct what he saw as an imbalance of criticism against such regimes, to whom, he emphasized, "we have been to some extent unfair."

In passing, Mr. Best took for granted that the action of the Jamaican government against Dr. Rodney had been both ill-advised and wrong, but his overriding concern was to show the impersonal forces leading to such an action.

RODNEY'S LETTER

Finally, Dr. Gordon Rohlehr, a lecturer in English, attempted to offer some insight into the motivations and action of Dr. Rodney in Jamaica, and for this purpose he read extensively from a personal letter written to himself by Dr. Rodney, a letter which showed no trace of any intention to overthrow the Jamaican government by violence.

These various contributions to the Rodney debate by three U.W.I. lecturers had nothing in common apart from a basic dissatisfaction



DR. RODNEY

with the state of affairs as symbolized by the incident involving the summary expulsion of a university lecturer from the country to which he had been posted. Each was a personal and individual contribution, bearing a unique significance, and a newspaper report concerned with providing the public with an accurate representation of what occurred at that meeting would have recognized the significance of this distinction and given equal coverage to these contributions.

"DR." BEST

What in fact happened? The Trinidad Guardian ignored Dr. Rohlehr, relegated a sketchy and non-significant version of Dr. Nicholl's argument to a back page (along with a version of another address, by Dr. Camacho, a sociology lecturer), and gave to Mr. Best a front-page star-billing which is in itself very revealing.

To begin with, the Guardian's report (and not for the first time), confers a doctorate on Mr. Best - - a point which is much less trivial than it appears at first sight, for it is a symptom of the crude sensationalism which trades in facile stereotypes - - in this case the stereotype is that of the academic Ph.D. engaged in a personal bid to overthrow the reigning Ph.D. (Dr. Williams). In the vulgar mythology of Commercial Journalism, the conflict of ideas - - the conflict which lies at the heart of the democratic process - - is reduced to a battle of the Doctors.

Moreover, this significant inaccuracy links naturally with the more glaring aspects of the sensationalism behind the reporting of Mr. Best's address. He is awarded a doctorate for precisely the same reason that he is given star billing - - his speech is distingusihed from all others, that is, because he is seen, among all the speakers, as the likely popular candidate for Dr. Williams's high office. And finally, it is again this same crude vision that dictates the utter distortion of his speech; for the account of this speech appearing in the Guardian, under a headline to the effect that a U.W.I. lecturer had criticised West Indian regimes, was the exact contrary of the argument he had in fact presented.

The total result of this crudely sensationalist approach to public issues by the establishment press is that the whole truth of the Rodney Affair in all its aspects and phases - - from the nature of Dr. Rodney's political activities in Jamaica to the response of demonstrators against his expulsion and the response of the authorities to these demonstrators - - has failed to appear in Trinidad. Our inaugural issue is therefore dedicated to a presentation of some of the material that has failed to find consideration in the Trinidad press.

OFFICIALISM

In Trinidad, so far, we have been fed on a number of official statements by the Jamaican Prime Minister, Mr. Shearer, his Minister, Mr. Seaga, and other officials, to the effect that Dr. Rodney constituted "the greatest threat to Jamaican security." The direct evidence offered in support of this has been to say the least, questionable, both as to its significance and as to the good faith of the Jamaican government in presenting it.

To take one instance, there is the allegation that Dr. Rodney, as a student at Mona, became a member of the communist-oriented International Union of Students. The facts of this case, as given to this newspaper by U.W.I. graduates who were fellow-students of Rodney's at the time, indicate that Rodney's connection with this organization was of the most tangential kind : the allegation of the Jamaican government is based quite simply on the fact that Rodney's signature appeared on a letter of application from the Council of the Guild of Undergraduates asking to be granted observer status at an IUS conference.

SELECTIVE REPORTING

The decision to make this application was taken by the Guild Council, and the form of application was signed by Rodney for the perfectly simple reason that he was, at the time, the relevant officer of the Guild to sign it.

A misrepresen tation of this kind by the Jamaican government tends to reduce credibility in their case as a whole, but the fact is that no newspaper, either in Jamaica or Trinidad, has made any attempt to discover the actual facts behind the government's charges.

In Trinidad, the newspaper have slavishly and complacently reproduced the heavily loaded material published in the Jamaican Daily Gleaner. We are archly told, for instance, as a follow-up to Mr. Shearer's claim that students had been "duped" by subversive elements into "anti-Jamaican" demonstrations that Mr. Norman Manley's granddaughter, a Mona student, had finally come to her senses after seeing through the sinister purposes of the demonstrations. This information - - relayed in a Trinidad Guardian report taken from a report by the Daily Gleaner's political reporter - - is published unexamined as a proof that in so far as students are angry over the expulsion of

NEW EVIDENCE

Dr. Rodney it is only because they are the innocent victims of the conspiracy of "subversive" elements.

in this issue from Jamaican sources other than the Gleaner - - material that comes mainly from the Mona campus itself - - suggests quite other grounds for the anger of the students.

It suggests, first of all, that Dr. Rodney's political activities were concerned with persuading black Jamaicans of their inherent dignity as human beings and their legitimate right to a fair share of the goods of the society.

That the problem of the black outcast has been a major preoccupation of Dr. Rodney's is suggested by the whole course of his academic career, with his specialization in African hsitory. That he should use his academic expertise to foster political ambition among the black outcasts of Jamaica is not in the least surprising, and, what is to the point, it is not, in terms of the Jamaican constitution, an illegitimate means of seeking to bring about social changes.

TREASON?

On this point Dr. Nicholls of the St. Augustine campus had some very pertinent things to say at the Guild Hall meeting last Friday. If Rodney were genuinely engaged in treasonable plots against the Jamaican government, Dr. Nicholls argued than surely there was no shortage of Jamaican laws under which he could be duly charged and tried. The action of the Jamaican government in bundling him out of the country in fact suggests the opposite of the case they are now attempting to make out; it suggests that in fact there was very little evidence against Rodney that could stand as treasonable in a court of a law.

On the other hand, as Dr. Nicholls further argued, there is nothing inherently unconstitutional in Rodney's attempts to mobilize the Jamaican outcast as a political force: a majority victory at the polls for one party does not imply that minorities thereby lose their right to agitate for the things they want or for a change of the government. It is not such agitation that is subversive, but the action of the government in arbitrarily suppressing it.

CAUSE FOR ANGER

In view of this, to start with, it is surely conceivable that the students and staff of the U.W.I. should be roused to anger by a profound sense of betrayal on the part of the government, without supposing that they are the dupes of a sinister conspiracy? .

cont'd on pg 4

THE PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS

COMMENTS ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO THE ISLAND

THAT THE PRIME MINISTER should have been forced to broadcast to the nation by the events of Wednesday 16th, is itself politically instructive. One would have thought that Mr. Shearer would have addressed himself to discussing why a single act of the Government in banning the re-entry to Jamaica of a non-Jamaican could have set off a chain of events which has so far taken the lives of three civilians and resulted in the mobilization of the armed forces of the country.

Instead, he engaged in a series of assertions which every student not only knows to be dishonest, but which the reports in the Daily Gleaner reveal to be untrue. The Prime Minister refers to "the litter of destruction and looting which has been left behind by the University marchers", and he also says that "Jamaicans could not carry out looting, stoning, or hooligan protest in other countries without receiving the strong condemnation of all Jamaicans". He thus not only accuses students of looting, stoning hooliganism and destruction, but also manages to single out non Jamaicans as his specific target.

THE TRUTH

We do not rely on students to tell the community the truth about what happened in Kingston yesterday. In the Daily Gleaner of today, it is clearly stated that "Later in the afternoon, after the students had dispersed, there were reports of widespread window smashing of business premises in the down town area". The Gleaner points out that "What started out as a students demonstration . . . . . developed into widespread vandalism last night as hooligan gangs took charge of many areas in the city - looting, smashing, damaging, burning".

VIOLENCE

But the Gleaner report itself did not do full justice to yesterdays events, for it omitted the fact that violence was a feature of yesterday's demonstrations from the very outset: violence carried out by the police. Students engaged in a wholly peaceful march were first subjected to the pain and indignity of tear gas on the Mona road, again at HopeRoad and then in front of Jamaica House. Further, students were roughly manhandled in front of Jamaica House; at least one young female student, Bunny Cumingham, was beaten by a policeman with a baton and among those who were tear gassed was Mrs. Rodney, the pregnant wife of the barred lecturer. Later in the day, when policemen wielding batons broke up a crowd in George VI Memorial Park, David Beckles, who is on the staff of the department of mathematics was set upon by three policemen and cruelly beaten. He subsequently was treated at the University Hospital.

Indeed, some of the violence and hooliganism originated from the Headquarters of the Union of which the Prime Minister is himself the Island Supervisor. A group of University and non-University demonstrators proceeding up Duke Street after the public meeting held in front of the Ministry of Home Affairs was stoned and man-handled by persons coming out of the Bustamente Industrial Union building. Murchison Wilson, is in the Department of Bio-Chemistry had his car- windshield smashed who is in the Department of Bio-Chemistry had his car-windshield smashed, and Denis Watson, a post-graduate student was physically assaulted. Needless to say peaceful demonstrators who are not members of the University also suffered at the hands of hooligans in the Duke Street incident, and at the hands of Police in the incident at George VI Park

It would have been far better for the Government to consider the reasons why the disaffection and discontent in the country is such that what started as a peaceful demonstration could end in stone-throwing, burning, and looting. When black people in the ghettoes of the cities of the United States burn and loot, the reaction of the white power structure is to call them vandals and hooligans, thereby placing them in the category of sub-humans fit only to be teargassed and murdered by the Police and army.

ASSESSMENT

Does the Government of Jamaica feel comfortable to be in the company of the men who carry out such repression? Looting and burning are carried out by humans driven to it by unemployment, hunger, and an oppressive social system. It is the Government, therefore, which by its failure to remedy the ills is to be held ultimately responsible for the destruction of property which took place in the city yesterday. Every "true Jamaican" knows that.

The Prime Minister has said that all "true Jamaicans" will support the action of the Government in banning Doctor Rodney, and in condemning yesterday's demonstration. He has thus made nationality conditional on support of a specific action of the Government which happens to be in power. Nothing could be more dangerous to what remains of the political rights of all Jamaicans.

Whether, in any case, the Government was "right" to ban Doctor Rodney, is a matter that absolutely no member of the Public is now in a position to judge. For whereas Mr. Shearer has spoken of "very substantial justification" we do not know what this is. We would indeed like the people in Kingston and St. Andrew, Clarendon and St. James, who are apparently privileged to this information, to give it to the rest of the country. What we know is that Doctor Rodney has made it his special business to study the history of the African people; in other words the history of the Jamaican, and many of the Caribbean and American peoples; before we were forcibly transferred from that continent. And that in addition to giving the University students the benefit of his education, he has carried his knowledge to many parts of Jamaica. If the Government objects to that, they should say so.

The Prime Minister's allegations in the House about Doctor Rodney's statements and activities fail to meet the objections raised to the manner in which the Government has handled the Rodney case. Doctor Rodney has been excluded on evidence whose reliability the Courts of Law have not been permitted to evaluate, and against which Doctor Rodney has not been given the opportunity to defend himself.

The Government has thus acted as investigator, prosecutor, judge and jury in a matter which concerns the freedom of expression and the right to learn.

FREE UNIVERSITY

IN PERILS OF THE POLICE

BULLETIN NO. 8

I was taking part in a peaceful demonstration when the police intercepted at a point below the Mona Theatre. After an ineffectual attempt to halt the demonstration tear gas was thrown at a point above Matilda's Corner. Relentlessly the students continued their march in good order.

Near the Liguanea Post Office tear gas was again thrown but again we proceeded to King's House and Jamaica House where the gates were closed and members of the Jamaica Defence Force displayed their glistening bayonets. At this point the Minister of Home Affairs arrived in the company of a white mercenary, the Police Commissioner.

Irate and incensed the Commissioner ordered the riot squad to charge the demonstrators who were now sitting on the side of the road. This order came after a further dose of tear gas failed to scatter the demonstrators. I saw two young ladies display remarkable fortitude and discipline when they were walloped on their backsides by the police. Two male students were shoved over one of the young ladies who had fallen on the ground.

I personally received a severe blow on the wrist which caused an immediate swelling and the pain of which has not yet abated. I also received a severe blow on my backside which has left it sore. I shall point out however that I was not the most severely beaten person in the group outside the Jamaica House.

(Signed) Winston A. Cox

DETAILS OF ASSAULT BY AN OFFICER OF JAMAICAN POLICE FORCE ON ALVIN RIBEIRO AND IVAN BROWNE 16. 10. 68

The above-mentioned were proceeding along Mona Road with the student body when the police blocked part of the road. We continued walking and went by the block unhindered. 50 yards further on we began to run. As we turned into a side road an officer with an aerosol-spray can ran in front of us and began spraying our faces and necks with what turned out to be a type of tear-gas. We were not engaged in any action which could have given the officer any reason for his action. He sprayed our faces without any apparent regard for the consequences of this attack on our eyes especially. When we bent our heads to shield our faces he sprayed the back of our necks.

Our actions did in no way necessitate such a severe case of teargassing which rendered us almost blind for a while and caused us considerable pain.

(Sgd) ALVIN RIBERIO (Sgd) IVAN BROWNE

CHANCELLOR HALL

STATEMENT OF BRUTALITY, WINSTON G. FAGAN

On the 16th October, while taking part in the student's demonstration, I was beaten up by policemen using batons. This happened on the Hope Road opposite Jamaica House. The students were going towards Half Way Tree when the police formed a road block and started throwing tear gas towards us. One fell near to me and for several minutes I was blinded by fumes from the gas. During this time I stumbled into several policemen clouting me with their batons in the lower region of my body. There were at least five policemen who hit me during the time I was rendered helpless by the gas. I was unable to identify the men that hit me and they must have been well aware of the fact that I was suffering the after effects of tear gas. Up until now I have not fully recovered from the effects of the blows which I received as my right leg is still stiff and bruised causing me to walk with a limp.

MOKOJU

This is a new newspaper It is not on[e] newspaper.

First of all,we are attempting to estab[lish] we are trying to establish an honest and tru[th] with the issues intelligently and with objecti[ve] as we select the "Rodney issue" for our first

Secondly, we are demonstrating our b[elief] and of the West Indies, need and want such they will support it. What we offer is a fort[nightly] 4,000 copies. It will cost us, all told, abo[ut $40] money substantially by sales, subscriptions we shall not carry advertising. The West Ind[ian] papers seems to be that advertising reven[ue is] independence; or, of it is. then only on the[basis] bites the hand that feeds. We are, we recog[nize,] that a newspaper should tell us something [about t]ell us something about ourselves. If the soc[iety is] dence it will support us; if we are relevant w[e will]

Inevitably, in the light of the events [of the] ceived at the University. But it is not a U[niversi]Several of us are connected with the Univers[ity bu]are anxious that we shall not be alone in this[endea]as possible will join us in staffing, financing [and di]

To begin, we select the "Rodney issue[" In] for many persons, this is probably already [closed] because for us it is not closed, and partly [because] Dr. Walter Rodney. It always was.

We are not particularly anxious abou[t pra]proper judgements can only be based on p[roper] formation we are quite likely to make inad[equate] afford, and certainly we cannot afford them[now] we have all been inadequately informed, [all w]ignorance has been the perfect plea for indiffer[ence] us we are faced with the moral responsibility [to le]

In this issue we provide some of the [fo]though that the information was available. [All th]ed documents freely and publicly circulate [at] newspapers would have printed them. Inste[ad w]and tendentious reporting such as, we hope,[we] similar seriousness, and will never have again.

In the event, we have been granted th[e opp]documents in these few pages. We have p[roved] some, do the "cause" no good. We do not [believe] sought to provide a canvas of events as seen [from] When the Restoration will have triumphed, [it will] member. We will have for all time the real [history] We will know what they thought the issues [were] what they thought they had lost. This will [be fo]

Space permits but the briefest refere[nce] Power two of the issues which seem alike [that] recent events in Jamaica.

Black Power, whatever one might think [of] It has its excesses, but in its nobler aspects [is] calls attention to the masses of the world's [poo]mostly black, and it demands for them a new [dig]

To gain its ends Black Power threatens [com]comprehensive violence has created it. Dr. [Nock] threats of violence at the recent Black Writers [Con]regrettable. But the violence inherent in Black [Power] most amazing energies. The black athletes of [the] creed is strongest, and the black athletes of [Africa] this year's Olympics to an abnormal degree. [Many] have won spectacularly. The times returned [by] and in the sprint relays, the distance jumped [by] indecent: one is accustomed to athletes breaking

Basically though, Black Power is a call [to] ceded, and its claims made effective, then [is] violence in Jamaica seemed to say precisely this, with which we are faced.

West Indian nationalism has, of course, [run] dence which came in the wake of the failure [of] in Jamaica at the University was perhaps inevitable been the physical and spiritual symbol of the [Afro] been the heartland of the West Indian intellect so much as by its regional commitment. [It] the historic barrier to the achievement of [the] with this West Indian nationalism. Nor is it [out] place in the age of CARIFTA: a brash and [self] could scarcely wholly admit to the imperatives ern Caribbean. The desire to be true to its [own] mante still lives, the conflicts of policy, [interest] very fact of re- involvement. The smouldering still possible withdrawal from CARIFTA, [the] limits of collaboration, all those served [merely] "true-born" Jamaican anchored in the Jamaican the ruling party was fated to come to grips So far the issue has been decided in term

Together West Indian nationalism and [the] imposition of the status quo. Now that [the] policies will be needed to ensure the future. [It has] been very much a social not a political [objective] very significant, as too is the fact that once [again] with the tide of political and social change [the] movement will undo the regional fragmentation

SPEAKS

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MOKOJUMBIE

This is a new newspaper It is not on another newspaper, it is a different kind of newspaper.

First of all,we are attempting to establi a genuinely independent newspaper. Also, we are trying to establish an honest and tru ful newspaper in which we will try to deal with the issues intelligently and with objecti and we will select them in the same way, as we select the "Rodney issue" for our first mber.

Secondly, we are demonstrating our b that the people of Trinidad and Tobago, and of the West Indies, need and want such newspaper. It remains to be seen whether they will support it. What we offer is a forti ly newspaper, initially a of circulation of 4,000 copies. It will cost us, all told, abo $400 per issue. We shall try to raise this money substantially by sales, subscriptions free gifts. For several very good reasons we shall not carry advertising. The West Ind experience, certainly with the larger news- papers seems to be that advertising reven is incompatible with genuine newspaper independence; or, of it is. then only on th sis of a brazen cynicism which arrogantly bites the hand that feeds. We are, we reco e, choosing a hard road; but we believe that a newspaper should tell us something a t the society in which we live. Also it will tell us something about ourselves. If the soc is really interested in newspaper indepen- dence it will support us; if we are relevant w ill survive.

Inevitably, in the light of the events ne last few days, this newspaper was con- ceived at the University. But it is not a U rsity newspaper, nor do we wish it to be. Several of us are connected with the Univers but we are not only University people. We are anxious that we shall not be alone in this deavour and we hope that as many persons as possible will join us in staffing, financing distributing the newspaper.

To begin, we select the "Rodney issue, n doing so we are mindful of the fact that, for many persons, this is probably already closed book. We are re-opening it, partly because for us it is not closed, and partly b use we believe that the issue is larger than Dr. Walter Rodney. It always was.

We are not particularly anxious abou praising or blaming but we do believe that proper judgements can only be based on p er information. If we have insufficient in- formation we are quite likely to make ina uate judgements. These we can hardly ever afford, and certainly we cannot afford them ow. We believe that on the "Rodney issue" we have all been inadequately informed, a we have set out to put that right. So far ignorance has been the perfect plea for indif ence. Now that the information confronts us we are faced with the moral responsibilit t least to be concerned.

In this issue we provide some of the formation not previously seen. We know though that the information was available. l the information is extracted from publish- ed documents freely and publicly circulate at the Mona cqmpus in Jamaica. Serious newspapers would have printed them. Inste we were subjected to a barrage of biased and tendentious reporting such as, we hope ve have never previously had on an issue of similar seriousness, and will never have again.

In the event, we have been granted th pportunity of publishing a timeless set of documents in these few pages. We have p ished a few which will, in the opinion of some, do the "cause" no good. We do not ve that kind of cause. We have specifically sought to provide a canvas of events as seen documents published at the time of crisis. When the Restoration will have triumphed, it might well do, we will have them to re- member. We will have for all time the real oughts of real people at a moment of crisis. We will know what they thought the issues re, what they thought they had gained and what they thought they had lost. This will forever useful.

Space permits but the briefest refer ce to West Indian nationalism and Black Power two of the issues which seem alike have provided substantial inspiration in the recent events in Jamaica.

Black Power, whatever one might think f it, is clearly an idea whose time has come. It has its excesses, but in its nobler aspects is a powerful and worthwhile sentiment. It calls attention to the masses of the world's or, depressed and despised peoples who are mostly black, and it demands for them a new ignity and a new worth.

To gain its ends Black Power threatens mprehensive violence. This is not surprising; comprehensive violence has created it. Dr. dney himself is said to have offered racial threats of violence at the recent Black Writ conference in Montreal. If this is so, it is regrettable. But the violence inherent in Bl k Power seems, too, to have unleashed the most amazing energies. The black athletes f the United States of America where the creed is strongest, and the black athletes of frica, have dominated the track events at this year's Olympics to an abnormal degree Not only have they won frequently, they have won spectacularly. The times returned by black athletes in the 200 and 400 metres and in the sprint relays, the distance jumped the long jump, have really bordered on the indecent: one is accustomed to athletes brea ng records, not destroying them.

Basically though, Black Power is a ca to humanity. If humanity cannot be con- ceded, and its claims made effective, then seems it will be destroyed. Some of the violence in Jamaica seemed to say precisely t s, and this increasingly might be the choice with which we are faced.

West Indian nationalism has, of cours never succumbed to the tide of indepen- dence which came in the wake of the failure the West Indian Federation. Its resurgence in Jamaica at the University was perhaps inev able. In the West Indies, the University has been the physical and spiritual symbol of th aspiring West Indian nation, and Mona has been the heartland of the West Indian intell tual state which is distinguished by nothing so much as by its regional commitment. was inevitable that Jamaican nationalism, the historic barrier to the achievement of th West Indian state, should one day conflict with this West Indian nationalism. Nor is it rprising that the conflict should bave taken place in the age of CARIFTA: a brash and gressive Jamaica Labour Party government could scarcely wholly admit to the imperati need of a new involvement with the East- ern Caribbean. The desire to be true to its -West Indian heritage, at least while Busta- mante still lives, the conflicts of policy, inte and personality were all sharpened by the very fact of re- involvement. The smoulder quarrel over the Development Bank, the still possible withdrawal from CARIFTA, th anxiety to demonstrate quite clearly the limits of collaboration, all those served merel o sharpen and exacerbate old scores. The "true-born" Jamaican anchored in the Jama Cabinet and in the political structure of the ruling party was fated to come to grip the convinced regionalist located at Mona. So far the issue has been decided in term er, but power alone will hardly decide it.

Together West Indian nationalism and Power constitute real limits on the re- imposition of the status quo. Now that t has ebbed, generous and imaginative policies will be needed to ensure the future. dependence for the poor black has hitherto been very much a social not a political obj tive; now it threatens to be both. This is very significant, as too is the fact that once a in West Indian nationalism has joined hands with the tide of political and social change the West Indies. The second independence movement will undo the regional fragmentat of the first.

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STUDENT RETURN HO

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GOVERNMENT AND INSECURITY

BULLETIN NO. 13

SINCE THE WALTER RODNEY ISSUE B deal has been said about the Government's right t nationals from Jamaica. That right has never and is part of the sovereignity of the State. What said is that the system of law under which we o that wherever a discretionary power is created must be exercised judicially by the authority up conferred. The authority whether it is a statut Minister must therefore act upon reliable evid proper investigation.

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Here he has unwittingly pinpointed a major flaw in the present society. In fact, the society is one based on privilege rather than rights. The society merely doles out privileges, for example education to the few, excepting these to forget their less fortunate brethen who have not been similarly patronised. In other words, the society doles out privilege in order to recruit people, often originally from the poorer stratum into the upper echelons of society.

Many students in this University originate from poor and humble background. At the University, their education is paid for from taxes which fall heaviest on the poor, underprivileged, disposed, and alienated class. Yet as soon as these students enter the gates of Mona, they forget their humble beginning - often their way parents can no longer communicate with them. They ape middle class values and attitudes, their primary concern is to get out as soon as possible and become a part of this class. They perhaps give an occasional donation to charity . . . . at this point they have fulfilled their entire social obligation.

The recent demonstration should teach this lesson ; the students have a primary duty to the society from which they have come; the Prime Minister and his cohorts must not be allowed to scandalize and brutalise students in their attempt to fulfill this duty. This duty is mainly towards the poor, black and humble among us. Why black? . . . all poor people in this society are BLACK: and they are poor because they are black.

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GOVERNMENT AND INSECURITY

BULLETIN NO. 13

SINCE THE WALTER RODNEY ISSUE BEGAN, a great deal has been said about the Government's right to exclude non-nationals from Jamaica. That right has never been indispute and is part of the sovereignity of the State. What has not been said is that the system of law under which we operate requires that wherever a discretionary power is created by a Statute it must be exercised judicially by the authority upon which it is conferred. The authority whether it is a statutory Board or a Minister must therefore act upon reliable evidence and after proper investigation.

The Rodney case must not be taken in isolation from other recent activities of the Security Police because it is they who built up unfounded allegations against people like George Beckford labelled him subversive and a security risk and caused him to lose his passport. It is the same police who within months apparently recommended that his passport be restored although there had been no change in his activities and beliefs. It is they who have labelled Winston Davis and many other people threats to the security of the State without any evidence. It is they who have advised that the writings of Stokely Carmichael Elijah Mohammed and Malcolm X be prohibited publications. Their competence must therefore be questioned because not only is there this evidence of gross inefficiency and ignorance but due regard must be had for the fact that they are under a legal duty as members of the Constabulary Force to detect criminal activity and prepare case for prosecution by the Director of Public Prosecutions. During the past six years the Government has said a great deal about efforts which have been made to subvert the security of the State and yet nobody has been prosecuted for sedition or similar offences.

The general picture of the activities of the Security Police compels one to conclude that the Government has no faith in subjecting their findings to the impartiality of trial by jury. Instead they have been hiding behind a cloak of administrative discretion in a deliberate campaign to deprive persons who hold particular opinions of their rights. Or is it not merely a matter of incompetence but that there is a delibertae campaign of dishonesty.

Why for instance did the Prime Minister not disclose the information he had about Rodney when he broadcast on Wednesday? Why did he have to wait? How come the Security Police did not know that Rodney was absent from Jamaica if he is so dangerous a man who had been receiving so much attention from them sufficient for Mr. McNeil to describe him as the greatest risk that he had ever had to deal with? If the "plot of pillage had been so well layed before Wednesday as the Prime Minister alleged how come the security forces did not know about it or did not try to avert it? The evidence makes it clear that the integrity of the Security Police must also be called into question.

But what of the integrity of the Government. The Cabinet consisting of two barrister and three solicitors despite the fact that it had the so called abundance of evidence attempted;to commit the legal wrong (Tort) of inducing the University to break its contract of services with Walter Rodney. Are we to believe that lawyers like Mr. Victor Grant Q.C. Sir N. Ashemhiem and Messrs. Wilton Hill, R. McNeil and Allen Dougias had to depend on a layman called Philip Sherlock for legal advice on the Government's power to declare Rodney a prohibited immigrant?

GOVERNMENT AND THE STUDENTS

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS.

PART of the strategy of the Government in the Rodney issue and the events that have surrounded it, is to give the public the impression that the members of the University have acted with complete disregard for the law and that the Government itself has been acting in conformity with it. This can be demonstarted to be incorrect and it is necessary that the public at large be acquainted with some of the legal issues which have been involved.

In the first place, it has been alleged that the march of the students and lecturers of the University was illegal. The right to move freely throughout Jamaica is part of the fundamental right to liberty guaranteed in Section 13 of the Jamaica Constitution. This right is limited in a number of ways among which are the restrictions on the holding of public marches under Section 6 of the Public Order Law 1957 which makes it unlawful for any public march to take place in daylight unless a permit has been issued in respect thereof.

A public march is defined by Section 2 to mean any march or procession in a public place, except a march or procession which among other things is confined to pupils and teachers of any school. It may therefore be that the procession of students and lecturers which was broken up by the police in Mona and at Jamaica House on the morning of Wednesday 16th October was quite lawful and that the police were acting illegally and in breach of the Constitution in breaking it up with tear gas.

At a later stage on Wednesday when citizens other than members of the University joined the procession it would be open to the authorities to conclude that the march was illegal. In that event Section 7 of the Public Order Law should have been complied with. This permits any member of the Constabulary force above the rank of Corporal to require the persons who are leading or appear to be leading the march to call on the march to disperse. The provisions of Section 22 of the Law are to the same effect with regard to meetings and marches held within two hundred yards of specified premises such as Gordon House or the Prime Minister's Office.

It is therefore clear that the law contemplates that the proper exercise of police functions do not require a resort to violence of the type displayed at Race Course on Wednesday. Certainly the mere fact that a march is staged in breach of the law is not sufficient justification for the police using violence to break it up.

THE USE OF THE MILITARY

The next important legal issue concerns the use of military power by the Government. The Jamaica Defence Force is charged with the defense and maintenance of law and order in Jamaica by Section 5 of the Jamaica Defence Law 1962. The Defence Force is not concerned with law enforcement like the Jamaica Constabulary Force and hence they have no powers of search or arrest similar to those the Police have. In fact the officers and ranks of the Defence Force have no more power to arrest or search anyone or to stop or direct traffic etc. than any student at Mona or other person in Jamaica has. Under normal circumstances they are therefore subject to the same liabilities at law as ordinary citizens.

It is only where there is a state of emergency under the constitution and extraordinary powers under the state of emergency are enacted that the army are able to lawfully exercise powers such as they have been doing. The use of the army is therefore nothing short of an attempt to give an air of legality to the coercive and authoritarian methods of the Government.

This is typified by the Prime Minister's statement that he has given the military and the police an absolute discretion to take all necessary steps to deal with the present situation. Had he been advised by competent lawyers, he would know that the powers of the army and the police are clearly defined by law and no declaration on his part can give them power beyond what the alw confers on them.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Hence it is important to realise that all persons in Jamaica have the right under the Constitution to liberty including the right to freedom of movement. This right is not enjoyed by citizens only but by all persons foreigners and Jamaicans alike. It cannot be abridged except in conformity with the clear exceptions laid down in the Constitution. The use of the military and police to prevent the free movement of persons into and from the University campus is theretore illegal and unconstitutional and the government and the individuals concerned may be sued for depriving persons of their constitutional and common law rights. Their action amounts to false imprisonment.

Hugh Small Extra-Mural Tutor in Law
University of the West Indies 18th October 1968

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MOKO

A SERIOUS REVIEW

No 1

PRICE 10 cts up

DIARY OF EVENTS - 16 October

On Wednesday. 16th October, 1968 .....

1. Students of the University protested the banning of Dr. Rodney from re-entering the island and the arbitrary way in which this was done; left campus proceeding along Mona Road.

2. Along the Mona Road the students were stopped by members of the Jamaica Constabulary armed with guns, batons and tear-gas bombs; and a machine gun was mounted on the aqueduct above Mona Road.

3. When stopped the students committed no acts of violence. They talked with the police, urging their right to protest. Some policemen allowed one section of the crowd through, students also slipped through the cordon. The policemen ran ahead and the process was repeated.

4. At the corner of Wellington Drive and Mona Road, John Ribero, a first year student, was approached by a policeman and tear-gassed from close quarters. He fell to the ground and was given assistance by fellow students.

5. Police diverted some students down Wellington Drive and others down Mona Road. Police assembled in more force at Old Hope Road and protestors in their efforts to maintain peace proceeded down Hope Road.

6. At Jamaica House police engaged in various hostilities against students. Tear Gas was thrown indiscriminately and one fell at the foot of Pat Rodney, pregnant wife of the banned lecturer, who was conspicous by the placard reading "Where is my Husband?" Gas was levelled at students. Bunny Cunningham, a young woman and student, was beaten by a policeman with a baton.

7. Roy McNeil, the Minister for Home Affairs, arrived on the spot and this seemed to have been a signal for increased hostilities as the students were forced back up Hope Road and had to retreat to a church. Here forces were reprouped and thanks to the solidarity of passing motorists who made the space in their vehicles available, we eluded the policemen, meeting with the other group of students on Ardenne Road.

8. The march proceeded to Cross Roads,where we were joined by students from the Theological Seminary. All along the route citizens demonstrated their sympathy with the protest by offering words of encouragement, water for dampening rags as a protection against tear gas bombs.

9. Along Slipe Road policemen returned with added re-inforcements, provoking and harrassing the students. Again with the assistance of motorists the marchers got around the police.

10. On foot, by bus, by car, with persistence but peacefully hundreds of students arrived at Duke Street and found asylum at St. George's School. By now many from the underprivileged sectors of the Society, aroused over the basic issues for which Rodney stood, had joined the gathering.

Efforts were made by the students for a meeting with Mr.Roy McNeil the Minister of Home Affairs. What was granted was that the president of the Guild of Undergraduates and a lecturer of the Univeristy were admitted to the Mi nistry to speak with the Permanent Secretary. They emerged to announce that the Prime Minister had agreed to receive two representatives of the University on Friday.

A brief public meeting was then held in the street outside the Ministry, the police looking on and diverting traffic. Representatives of the students addressed the crowd and it was announced that they would all then march to East Race Course, there to continue their peaceful protest.

11. Students and other citizens formed a column and moved up Duke Street. When the marchers came abreast the Bustamente Industrial Trade Union headquarters just below North Street, a volley of bricks and stones were showered onthem from that building. Most of them drew back; some rocks were thrown back at the building and at parked cars, but not by students.

12. The marchers re-grouped and after considering the alternatives, filed in orderly fashion down Duke Street, across East Queen Street, down King Street, across Harbour Street and back around the Gleaner offices up King Street. There was chanting but no disorder.

13. Again, in the whole of the march from downtown,up Orange Street to King George VI Memorial Park, led by lecturers of the University, there were no incidents. Citizens who joined the march now thousands strong, chanted and banged on the sides of buses and cars but no windows were broken, no stores were looted and no persons attacked.

At the south-west corner of the Park a detachment of Police attempted to stop the amrch but the marchers went around them and swept across the Park to their destination, the East side of the Park.

14. A peaceful meeting was started. The one or two who began to throw stones into the street stopped doing so at the urging of the members of the University. Dr. Beckford, a lecturer at the University, addressed the group. He urged non-violence, which the crowd all agreed to, but at this point the police charged firing tear-gas and swinging their batons. Dr. David Beckles a University lecturer fell, and while down and attempting to recover his glasses was beaten brutally by three policemen. He had to be taken to the University Hospital. Hi s arm is now in a sling. Other marchers, students and public, were also beaten.

15. By this time, the antural reaction to this kind of repressive and savage treatment was taking place. Members of the public who had joined the march were hurling stones at the police and at passing cars, as they retreated across the West side of the Park.

The Police carried their violent tactics to the point of tear-gassing and beating the firemen at the York Park Fire Station.

16. The marchers were dispersed. The students made their way home singly, but the results of day-long wild and brutal police action in downtown and West Kingston were still to be felt.

THE CONSEQUENCES

THREE PEOPLE KILLED

50 J.O.S. BUSES DAMAGED

£1,000,000 PROPERTY DAMAGE

TARGETS OF ATTACK – ROYAL BANK, BOLAM, NORTH AMERICAN LIFE, BATA SHOE STORE, WOOLWORTH.

(A student - staff Action Committee Publication - 17th October, 1968.)

RODNEY: THE OTHER SIDE

cont'd from pg. 1

The rest of the account coming from our Jamaican sources suggest a progressive escalation of the causes for anger, none of which accounts have been presented by the Trinidad press. The documents we publish speak largely for themselves. We are not attmepting to present them as the final word on the subject, but quite simply as the evidence offered by the side of this case which was conspicuously been ignored by the newspaper.

Even so it is legitimate to draw attention to a contrast of tones between the case presented by the university people - - staff and students - - and that presented by Mr. Shearer and his colleagues; a contrast between an approach which makes a discernible attempt towards balance and objectivity, on the part of the univeristy demonstrators, and that of the Jamaican government, which has throughout tended to argue in emotionally loaded terms with very little specific content - - in terms, for instance, of "anti-Jamaican", "true Jamaican", security"and so on - - terms that have a distinctly Mc Carthyite cast to them, for those who can recall the American witch-hunts of the fifties.

CLOUDY RHETORIC

Besides this cloudy emotional invocation, the debased common currency of jingoism , the cool and precise accounts and arguments we reprint here from the campus magazine SCOPE ,and from other campus bulletins, have the ring of authenticity and sincerity. The detailed account of progressive police provocation and harrasment of a peaceful march, presented in the Diary of Events"from SCOPE, for instance, suggests a very credible reason for the riots that later took place among the non-university sections of the demonstrators. Is it possible to imagine a more terrifying symbol of the Jamaican administration's basic attitudes than the machine gun mounted on an aqueduct just outside the Mona campus?

BALANCE OF EVIDENCE

This newspaper does not at this point set out to make any final judgements on the evidence, but we consider it a public duty to present the side of the case that the established newspapers have sedulously ignored, and we feel entitled to point out that, on the balance of evidence as now made available, the stronger and more credible case is that emerging on the side of Dr. Rodney and all those people, in and out of the university, who have demonstrated in protest against what has every appearance of being an arbitrary act of agression by the Jamaican government against an institution that is regional in its conception and constitution.

No Roman Holiday This

These are times that try men's souls." We are now faced with the challenge of preserving this institution as a Univeristy and as a Regional Institution. We shall mobilize all the resources at our disposal to meet this challenge, and we are confident that we shall overcome.

The Government of the Jamaica Labour Party has called out the Police and the Military to assist in the destruction of this institution and has attempted to drive a wedge between the Jamaican lecturers and lecturers from other parts of the Caribbean, and between Jamaican students and students from other parts of the Caribbean. We present a solid front. Unwittingly they have succeeded in establishing a rapport between the faculty and the students which before now was sadly lacking. They have succeeded in alienating the public opinion in Jamaica and indeed the whole Caribbean.

This University cannot function properly and realte meaningfully to the community if it is intended to be a resting place for the pampered sons and daughters of the petty bourgeosie. This University will fail the community if its end products are torpid and nebulous intellectuals content to spend their time at Sunday morning rum-punch parties discussing irrelevance, cut off from reality and the less fortunate members of the community.

The University is the matrix of the society and cannot afford to be divorced from the problems created by the social structure and economic system. We shall address ourselves to these problems and shall continue to do so in the face of heavy odds, personal abuse and academic suffocation. These problems cannot be assayed unless we involve the community at large. We are convinced that we have the support of all clear-thinking West Indians on this subject.

For too long we have been content to allow this institution to be insulted and its freedom to be curtailed without comment. We now join issue with the petty bourgeoisie and other reactionary civic leaders who set their countries up for sale in the markets of the metropolitan world in exchange for disadvantageous trading arrangements, a knighthood, a golden cigarette case, or a dinner at the White House. The leaders of the community, sham from top to bottom seek to perpetuate systems that have been imported wholesale from the metropolitan countries without reference to local idiosyncrasies, traditions and practices.

To my fellow students and to the academic community at large, I say that these problems must be resolved in the preservation of this University. Upon this cause, I stake my friends, my family, and my future.

UWI STAFF-STUDENT ACTION GROUP

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